

Message Text

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ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-12 IO-13 /096 W
-----018163 011059Z /14

R 010818Z DEC 77
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3229
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
AMEMBASSY SEOUL
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
USLO PEKING
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI
COMUSFJ YOKOTA AB JA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 18480

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: MILI, CH, JA, US, UR
SUBJECT: TWO MORE GROUPS OF RETIRED JAPANESE MILITARY
VISIT PRC --
CHINESE COMMENT ON RELATIONS WITH JAPAN AND U.S.

REF: A. TOKYO 18132; B. TOKYO 10241

SUMMARY: TWO FURTHER GROUPS OF RETIRED SENIOR JAPANESE MILITARY
OFFICERS HAVE MARCHED INTO PEKING AT INVITATION OF SINO-
JAPANESE FRIENDSHIP ASSOCIATION, BRINGING YEAR'S TOTAL TO
SIX. IT APPEARS CHINESE ARE MAKING CONCERTED EFFORT TO WOO
THIS EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE SEGMENT OF JAPANESE SOCIETY.
CHINESE VICE-PREMIER TENG HSIAO-PING WENT SO FAR AS TO TELL
ONE GROUP OCTOBER 7 THAT JAPANESE ARMY HAD HELPED CHINA DURING
WORLD WAR II BY WEAKENING CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S ARMIES. HSU
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HSIANG-CHIEN TOLD ANOTHER GROUP OCTOBER 29 THAT JAPAN SHOULD
NOT WORRY ABOUT ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE IN PFT SINCE, HE ASSERTED,
US HAD PROPOSED SUCH A CLAUSE IN SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE OF 1972.
DISCUSSIONS ON MILITARY SUBJECTS WERE NOT PARTICULARLY
PROBING OR ENLIGHTENING, LEADING AGAIN TO CONCLUSION
THAT MAIN PURPOSE FOR CHINESE INVITATIONS IS
PROPAGANDISTIC. NONETHELESS, FACT SUCH VISITS TAKE

PLACE STRIKES US AS REMARKABLE SIGN OF HEALTHY STATE
OF SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. TWO GROUPS OF RETIRED SENIOR JAPANESE MILITARY
OFFICERS HAVE RETURNED FROM CHINA SINCE MID-OCTOBER,
BRINGING TOTAL OF SUCH GROUPS TO CHINA SINCE INITIAL
FLOW STARTED THIS SPRING TO SIX (REF B). AN ARMY/AIR
FORCE GROUP LED BY EX-GENERAL MITSUOKA VISITED CHINA
SEPTEMBER 26 - OCTOBER 18, AND A NAVAL GROUP LED BY
EX-ADMIRAL TOMITA WAS IN CHINA OCTOBER 27 - NOVEMBER 11.
EMBOFF RECENTLY TALKED WITH GENERAL TAKASUGI FROM
FORMER GROUP AND ADMIRAL ISHIKURE FROM LATTER AT
JAPANESE DEFENSE AGENCY (JDA), BOTH MEETINGS HAVING
BEEN ARRANGED BY JDA FOREIGN AFFAIRS DIRECTOR-GENERAL
OTSUKA, WHO ALSO PARTICIPATED.

2. TAKASUGI EMPHASIZED FINE TREATMENT HIS GROUP
RECEIVED. FOR NATIONAL DAY BANQUET, THEY SAT JUST IN
FRONT OF MAIN TABLE, ("SO FAR UP FRONT THAT WE COULD
NOT EVEN SEE THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR"). VICE-PREMIER
TENG HSIAO-PING WAS PARTICULARLY CHARMING. IN MEETING
OCTOBER 7, TENG WENT SO FAR AS TO NOTE THAT JAPANESE
ARMY DURING WORLD WAR II HAD ACTUALLY "HELPED CHINA"
BY DRIVING CHIANG KAI-SHEK TO CHUNGKING AND ENABLING
EIGHTH ROUTE ARMY TO EXPAND FROM 30,000 TO 1.2 MILLION.

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3. CONTRARY TO PRESS REPORTS OF OCTOBER 7 MEETING,
TENG DID NOT STRESS PRC PLANS TO PURCHASE NEW WEAPONS
AND TECHNOLOGY FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES IN LINE WITH
ITS ARMY MODERNIZATION POLICY. RATHER, HE PLACED
IMPROVEMENT OF CHINA'S MILITARY EQUIPMENT AND IMPORTATION
OF ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY IN MUCH LARGER CONTEXT OF OVERALL
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. TENG WAS NOT ABOVE MAKING RACIAL
PITCH TO HIS VISITORS REGARDING MODERNIZATION AND
FUTURE: "WE ORIENTALS, INCLUDING YOU JAPANESE, ARE
NOT STUPID. WE ARE NOT INFERIOR TO OCCIDENTALS. THERE
IS HOPE, IF WE GO IN CORRECT DIRECTION, AND IF EFFECTIVE
AND CONCRETE MEASURES ARE CORRECTLY TAKEN." AT END
OF CONVERSATION, GENERAL MITSUOKA ADDRESSED TENG AS
CHIEF OF STAFF, AND TENG REPLIED, "CHIEF OF STAFF IS
NOTHING BUT A TITLE. I DO NOT THINK THERE ARE MANY IN
THE WORLD WHO HOLD SUCH A POST AT 73 YEARS OF AGE.
SINCE I AM A VETERAN, IT HAS BEEN FORCED ON ME."

4. ON SUBJECT OF KOREA, CONVERSATION RAN PRETTY MUCH
ACCORDING TO THAT REPORTED BY PRESS (TOKYO 15983),
WITH TENG REITERATING CHINESE SUPPORT FOR KIM IL-SUNG'S
POLICY OF "INDEPENDENT AND PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION."

TENG PLACED REUNIFICATION IN CONTEXT OF LONG-TERM
EVENTUALITY, STATING "IT MAY NOT BE REALIZED IN 100
YEARS, BUT IT WILL BE REALIZED IN 1,000 YEARS."
(VERBATIM TRANSCRIPT OF MEETING WITH TENG IN
JAPANESE, TOGETHER WITH EMBASSY'S ENGLISH TRANSLATION,
BEING POUCHED TO EA/J, EA/PRCM, AND INR/REA.)

5. ISHIKURE'S GROUP MET WITH NPC VICE-CHAIRMAN HSU
HSIANG-CHIEN OCTOBER 29, AND ISHIKURE RELATED TO EMBOFF
ONE SIGNIFICANT PORTION OF CONVERSATION NOT TOLD TO
PRESS. TRYING TO ELICIT GROUP'S SUPPORT FOR CHINESE
POSITION THAT GOJ SHOULD SIGN SINO-JAPANESE PEACE AND
FRIENDSHIP TREATY (PFT) AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, HSU STATED
THAT ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE IN SINO-US SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE
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OF 1972 WAS ORIGINALLY BROUGHT UP BY US SIDE, NOT CHINESE.
HSU WONDERED THEREFORE WHY JAPANESE WERE HAVING SO MUCH
TROUBLE WITH CONCEPT US HAD RAISED. AT DINNER FOLLOWING
EVENING, SJFA SECRETARY-GENERAL SUN PING-HUA ECHOED HSU'S
REMARKS AND ADDED THAT US SIDE BROUGHT UP ANTI-HEGEMONY
CLAUSE DURING EX-PRESIDENT NIXON'S VISIT TO CHINA IN
FEBRUARY 1972.

6. SJFA CHAIRMAN LIAO CHENG-CHIH ALSO COMMENTED TO
MITSUOKA GROUP ON SINO-US RELATIONS. LIAO SAID
CHINA "DID NOT BUDGE" WHEN SECRETARY VANCE SOUGHT
ASSURANCES RE PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF TAIWAN ISSUE DURING
AUGUST VISIT. HE ALSO SAID TENG WAS SHARPLY CRITICAL
OF REPORTED US READINESS TO SACRIFICE ONE-THIRD OF
GERMANY IN EVENT OF SOVIET ATTACK, SAYING SUCH POLICY
WOULD RESULT IN AMERICAN DUNKIRK.

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R 010818Z DEC 77
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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

7. BOTH TAKASUGI AND ISHIKURE SAID THAT WHILE CHINESE WERE INTERESTED IN SECURITY AND STRATEGIC QUESTIONS, THEY DID NOT PRESS THESE TOPICS IN THEIR CONVERSATIONS. SJFA DEPUTY SECRETARY-GENERAL CHIN LI ASKED VIEWS OF MITSUOKA'S GROUP ABOUT SOVIET STRATEGY AND POSSIBILITY OF WAR BETWEEN US AND USSR BY 1985, "WHEN SOVIETS WOULD BE RUNNING OUT OF OIL." (JAPANESE REPOSE WAS NONCOMMITTAL.) CHIN SPECIFICALLY ASKED WHAT SIZE FORCES SOVIETS WOULD USE SHOULD THEY ATTACK WAKKANAI, ON NORTH TIP OF HOKKAIDO. JAPANESE DID NOT SPECULATE, BUT SAID THAT SDF DEFENDERS COULD HOLD OFF SOVIET ATTACK LONGER THAN CERTAIN DOMESTIC CRITICS ALLEGED. FOR THEIR PART, JAPANESE TOLD CHIN THEY FELT ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE NOT NECESSARY IN PFT AND ALSO EXPRESSED DESIRE FOR CHINA TO USE ITS INFLUENCE IN NORTH KOREA TO MAINTAIN PEACE AND SECURITY ON THAT PENINSULA.
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CHIN REJECTED BOTH THOUGHTS.

8. SUN PING-HUA ASKED ISHIKURE'S GROUP ABOUT ATATUS OF KURE, SASEBO AND YOKOSUKA NAVAL BASES IN JAPAN. ISHIKURE GAVE GENERAL DESCRIPTION, AND POINTED OUT THAT BASES WERE SMALLER NOW THAN BEFORE WORLD WAR II. LIAO ASKED ADMIRAL TOMITA ABOUT BALANCE OF STRATEGIC NUCLEAR FORCES BETWEEN U.S. AND SOVIET UNION; TOMITA REPORTEDLY RESPONDED BY REFERRING TO ANALYSIS IN ISS PUBLICATION "THE MILITARY BALANCE." CHINESE PROBED NO FURTHER.
9. LIAO CHENG-CHIH MADE CLEAR TO MITSUOKA GROUP THAT WHILE SOVIETS WERE COMMON ENEMY, EACH COUNTRY MUST PREPARE FOR WAR IN ITS OWN WAY, AND THERE WAS NO NEED FOR AN ALLIANCE. HE REPEATED THAT CHINA COULD DEAL WITH ANY SITUATION ALONE.

10. NEITHER GROUP SAW ANY SIGNIFICANT MILITARY

INSTALLATIONS. CLOSEST RETIRED NAVAL OFFICERS CAME WAS WHEN THEY PASSED NAVAL DOCKYARD DURING BOAT TRIP UP HWANGPO RIVER OUTSIDE SHANGHAI. MITSUOKA'S PARTY VISITED MODEL 196TH DIVISION OUTSIDE TIENTSIN, AND WHILE IN SINKIANG SAW MANY TROOPS BUT NO INSTALLATIONS.

11. MANNER IN WHICH GROUPS WERE INVITED TO CHINA ILLUSTRATES UNOFFICIAL WAY IN WHICH CHINESE OPERATE IN JAPAN. INVITATION FOR RETIRED NAVAL GROUP WAS CONVEYED FROM CHINESE EMBASSY IN TOKYO IN BEGINNING OF MARCH ON BEHALF OF SJFA TO EXECUTIVE OF "FRIENDLY" MEIHO TOURIST AGENCY, SUBSIDIARY OF NAGOYA BROADCASTING COMPANY. MEIHO CONTACTED FORMER VICE-FOREIGN MINISTER SHINSAKU HOGEN AND HWANG TIEN-LUNG, OWNER OF NAGOYA'S SHANGHAI TIMES" AND ASKED THEM SEPARATELY TO SELECT A SUITABLE GROUP OF RETIRED NAVAL OFFICERS. HWANG EXTENDED
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INVITATION TO HIS OLD FRIEND, EX-VICE ADMIRAL MAEDA AND HOGEN CONTACTED EX-MARITIME CHIEF OF STAFF UCHIDA. MAEDA AND UCHIDA THEN GOT REST OF GROUP TOGETHER. WHILE FORMAL INVITATION FOR ARMY/AIR FORCE GROUP CAME FROM SJFA THROUGH CHINESE EMBASSY TOKYO FOR MITSUOKA, ORIGINAL INVITATION WAS CONVEYED TO GENERAL IMAMURA BY MEMBER OF SANKO TRADING COMPANY, AN ORGANIZATION FOUNDED BY EX-JAPANESE ARMY CADET SCHOOL MEMBERS. AS IMAMURA COULD NOT GO, MITSUOKA WENT IN HIS STEAD.

12. COMMENT: IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT -- AS TAKASUGI, ISHIKURE AND OTSUKA ALL AGREED -- MAJOR CHINESE PURPOSE IN FOOTING BILL (EXCLUDING AIRFARE) FOR FORMER JAPANESE MILITARY OFFICERS TO VISIT PRC RELATES TO SOVIETS RETIRED OFFICERS REPRESENT WHAT PRC SEES AS ONE POTENTIALLY INFLUENTIAL ELEMENT OF JAPANESE SOCIETY WHOSE SUPPORT MIGHT ULTIMATELY BE USEFUL. OTSUKA NOTED TO EMBOFF THAT CHINESE WERE PREACHING TO THE NEARLY CONVERTED. OLD JAPANESE MILITARY HAVE FOND PRE-WORLD WAR II MEMORIES OF CHINA, AND ALSO FEEL GUILT OVER WAR. TOWARD SOVIET UNION, MOST JAPANESE MILITARY FEEL ONLY MISTRUST. IT WAS OBVIOUS FROM TAKASUGI AND ISHIKURE COMMENTS THAT TRIPS WERE PLEASANT EXPERIENCE.

14. MILITARILY, GROUPS DID NOT SEE ANYTHING TERRIBLY REVEALING, AND IT IS DOUBTFUL WHETHER CHINESE REALLY EXPECTED USEFUL MILITARY INFORMATION FROM THEM. MAIN PURPOSE FOR VISITS THEN WAS TO PROPAGANDIZE AND CURRY INFLUENCE. IN ADDITION, CHINESE HAVE ALREADY USED VISITS AS STEPPING STONE TO ASK FOR EXCHANGE OF ACTIVE-MILITARY UNITS. THIS IS HIGHLY SENSITIVE

MATTER FOR GOJ, WHICH IS TRYING TO FIND WAY TO HAVE
SUCH EXCHANGES WITH BOTH SOVIETS AND CHINESE TO
IRRITATION OF NEITHER (REF A). IN MEANTIME, RETIRED
MILITARY VISITS PROVIDE JAPANESE WITH OCCASIONALLY
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USEFUL INSIGHTS INTO THINKING OF CHINESE LEADERS.
FACT THAT VISITS FROM EX-JAPANESE MILITARY -- AUTHORS
OF SO MUCH DEVASTATION SO RELATIVELY RECENTLY -- TAKE
PLACE AT ALL IS SIGNIFICANT MEASURE OF FUNDAMENTAL
HEALTH OF SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONSHIP.
MANSFIELD

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Message Attributes

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Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
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Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
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Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 TOKYO 18132, 77 TOKYO 10241
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 10-Jan-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 109283
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: TWO MORE GROUPS OF RETIRED JAPANESE MILITARY VISIT PRC -- CHINESE COMMENT ON RELATIONS WITH JAPAN AND U.S.
TAGS: MILI, CH, JA, US, UR
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/1ce6cefb-c188-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009